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494 505 average per-ton costs over similar distances in the same areas for ordinary goods of about £12 (US$.30 per ton/mile).[15] Tea and silk required special handling, and neither was supposed to get wet or to touch the ground during its transport.* These rates compare with an average of about £14 per ton for tea and silk over similar distances by water transport.[16] Shanghai's water connections were thus a vital advantage in securing for it the lion's share of foreign trade in these two leading commodities. Robert Fortune estimated in 1848 that transport costs for tea from the hinterland to Shanghai averaged about 50 per cent of total costs to that point, while he estimated the figure for Canton at 70 per cent.[17]

651 A desire on the part of the Ch'ing Government to continue the diplomatic and economic advantages resulting from the monopoly system of the Canton Cohong was apparently combined with a desire for increased revenue from the newly expanded trade with the foreigners in a movement to tax tea and silk exported via Shanghai at the same rate as would have been applied if these had moved out via the much longer route to Canton. The resulting Imperial Edict of 1845 ordering the imposition of extra transit dues on this basis had, however, only a nominal effect, since the locational advantages of Shanghai meant that the saving in transport costs and interest charges on tea and silk shipments more than made up for the additional dues.[18]

[245] 505 487 Map 9 shows the major tea-producing areas of China in the nineteenth century. The Yangtze itself runs through the northern part of the area producing the best quality teas, and its tributaries and the Chientang River (with its mouth at Hangchow, from which multiple waterways lead to Shanghai) drain most of the remainder. In spite of its river connections into this area, Wenchow was not a major tea exporter. This was certainly due in part to its relatively late opening to foreign trade, but that fact is in itself related to the high relief in Wenchow's hinterland, through which interrupted navigation provides the only adequate means of trans-

● 482 * For overland transport, they were carried in special frames mounted on porters' backs, with a supporting stick attached so that the load could be rested without being set down on the ground. For water transport, special care was taken to see that tea and silk were kept in clean dry holds or securely under cover. See Robert Fortune, *A Journey to the Tea Countries* (1852); Richtofen, *Letters to the Committee*.

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cumstances interfering with inland transport made inaccessible locally.[34]

Other food commodities have a relatively higher unit-value by weight, and are therefore able to move to the city over greater distances, in some cases independently of the water network. Fruit, largely citrus, comes in principally from Chekiang which is just south of the delta but in many areas cut off from water routes by high relief. For this comparatively long-distance overland shipping, the fruit is packed in pine boxes and wrapped in sacking as a protection against frost. In the rugged areas of Chekiang it is carried by porter, and is transferred to junk or sampan when it reaches the edge of the delta.[35] Other fruit sources for Shanghai are even more distant, but most of them can ship to the city over at least part of the route by sea. Grapes and melons come to Shanghai from Hopeh and Shansi, oranges and lichees from Kwangtung and Fukien, and apples from Liaoning (southern Manchuria).[36]

Fresh meat is sold in the city only in limited quantities and is supplied (except for the tiny foreign consumption before 1941, which drew on refrigerated shipping from New Zealand and Australia) almost entirely from the immediate market-garden area. Fish and eggs are far more important elements in the average Shanghai diet than fresh meat, but some cured or salted meat is available from greater distances. Shanghai's main supply of cured hams comes from Chekiang, via Hangchow, and from Kiangsu and Anhwei by Yangtze steamer. Substantial amounts also come from as far as Szechuan and Yünnan, where the making of famous high-quality hams has long been a specialty. The tremendous cost of transporting hams from Yünnan does not apparently make their price prohibitive, although it does limit the market for them.[37] High unit-value is of course the basic factor.

Eggs have become industrial raw materials, in addition to their part in the city's diet, with the development of freezing and drying plants to prepare eggs for export. Fresh eggs are also exported from Shanghai in cold storage to places as distant as the United Kingdom. The Shanghai supply for this varied market is drawn from surprising distances. Within Kiangsu, eggs come to the city from all but two of the *hsien*.[38] These two are in the northernmost part of